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## THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOSTON, MASS., OCTOBER, 1869.

### THE MITIGATION OF WAR.

The papers reported some months ago that Russia had entered a protest against the employment in war of certain projectiles found or recorded as productive of extreme sufferings without any important benefit to those who used them. The main facts in the case, recently brought by command of the Queen, before Parliament, are a significant proof that the humanity of the age will not bear the so-called *improvements of war*, but revolts at them as uselessly cruel and barbarous.

#### DECLARATION RENOUNCING THE USE IN WAR OF EXPLOSIVE PROJECTILES UNDER 400 GRAMMES WEIGHT.

"On the proposition of the Imperial Cabinet of Russia, an international military commission having assembled at St. Petersburg in order to examine into the expediency of forbidding the use of certain projectiles in times of war between civilized nations, and that Commission having by common agreement fixed the technical limits at which the necessities of war ought to yield to the requirements of humanity, the undersigned are authorized by the orders of their Governments to declare as follows:—

Considering that the progress of civilization should have the effect of alleviating as much as possible the calamities of war; that the only legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war is to weaken the *military forces* of the enemy; that for this purpose it is sufficient to disable the greatest possible number of men; that this object would be exceeded by the employment of arms which uselessly aggravate the sufferings of disabled men, or render their death inevitable; that the employment of such arms would therefore, be contrary to the laws of humanity, contracting parties engage mutually to renounce, in case of war among themselves, the employment by their military or naval troops of any projectile of a weight below 400 grammes, which is either explosive or charged with fulminating or inflammable substances. That will invite all the states which have not taken part in the deliberations of the International Military Commission assembled at St. Petersburg by sending delegates thereto, to accede to the present engagement.

This engagement is obligatory only upon the contracting or acceding parties thereto, in case of war between two or more of themselves: it is not applicable with regard to non-contracting parties, or parties who shall not have acceded to it. It will, also, cease to be obligatory from the moment when, in a war between contracting or acceding parties, a non-contracting party or a non-acceding party shall join one of the belligerents.

The contracting or acceding parties reserve to themselves to come hereafter to an understanding whenever a precise proposition shall be drawn up in view of future improvements which science may effect in the armament of troops, in order to maintain the principles which they have established, and to conciliate the necessities of war with the laws of humanity."

The above document was signed at St. Petersburg, December, 1868, by the representatives of Great Britain, Austria and Hungary, Bavaria, Belgium, Denmark, France,

Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Prussia and North German Confederation, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Wirtemberg.

We welcome, as entering levers for the ultimate overthrow of the war-system, such attempts as this "to *conciliate* war with the laws of humanity." Such reconciliation will be found impossible. The principles underlying, and the spirit pervading the system are essentially inhuman, cruel and barbarous. Take away these qualities, and you annihilate the custom itself. You may smooth them over, but can no more make war either Christian or humane than you can mix oil with water, or blend light with darkness.

WAR INCURABLE.—On the above one of our editors comments thus:—"We heartily wish that the atrocities inseparable from war might be abolished; but a consummation so devoutly to be desired, would involve the abolition of war itself. And until the nature of man shall be so radically changed, until, in fine, all that prophets and poets have sung of the millenium shall be realized, we can hardly hope for the abolition of war. The war-spirit appears to be inherent in human nature. It is a mania to which nations the most highly civilized are liable. The great German philosopher, Kant, probably did not err in saying, 'In that stage of culture at which the human race at present stands, war is an indispensable means for the promotion of further culture; and not till the progress of culture is completed (God knows when!) would a perpetual peace be salutary for us, and not till then would it be possible.' Meanwhile modern science, applied to the perfecting of deadly weapons and engines, renders a war more destructive but more brief than it would have been in former times. In the bloodiest battle of the fifteenth century not a thousand men were killed. But wars, if less bloody, used to be longer and more ruinous than they are now. \* \* It certainly will do no harm for the crowned heads of Europe and their representatives to deliberate upon the horrors of war. If successful in mitigating these, they will win and deserve perpetual blessings from the people."

### THE AMERICAN REBELLION.

Of all the instances of the squandering of human life caused by war, this is the most frightful. In four years the North called to arms 2,656,000 men. To stem this tide of manhood rolled against her, the South opposed a dyke, long insuperable, of not less than 1,100,000 human breasts. And before the South could be conquered, these 1,100,000 soldiers, many of whom were youths of sixteen or old men of sixty, were to be violently swept aside, and more than half of them were to sink under the force of the struggle.

This gigantic strife involved a carnage previously unheard of, and which should obtain the attention of philanthropists, and be recorded by a faithful historian. We have before us a remarkable work, prepared for general circulation by Major-General Joseph K. Barnes, surgeon-general of the United States army, *Report on the Extent and Nature of the Materials available for the Preparation of a Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion*. This medical and surgical history is not yet completed; but the published materials furnish most valuable information.

The monthly reports issued from rather more than one half of the regiments in the field during the first year, give 17,496 cases of wounds by fire-arms. The monthly reports issued from three-fourths of the regiments during the year ending June 30th, 1863, present 55,974 cases of wounds. The lists of wounded persons carried off the battle-fields in 1864 and 1865 include more than 114,000 names. But we are informed that these returns still await completion by additions from the reports of general hospitals, where many wounded persons were received whose names had neither been registered by the hospital clerks on the battle-fields, nor by the regimental surgeons. There should, also, be added the names of those who were killed during the conflicts. There would thus be given a total of 221,000 wounded, without reckoning those killed on the field. This enormous amount of wounded far surpasses the total of similar cases in all the armies-engaged in the Crimean War.

To understand clearly the gigantic and unprecedented features of this American War, it is necessary to enter into special details, and to compare the respective number of cases of particular injuries or important operations in the Union army with those in the French and English armies in the Crimea. If we take, for instance, fractures of the femur by fire-arms, we find that in the French army in the Crimea there were 459 injuries of this description and 194 in the English army, whilst more than 5,000 similar cases were registered in the United States army. If we take some important operation as the point of comparison, for example, the amputation of the upper portion of the humerus, the Crimean reports mention 16 of these amputations in the English and 42 in the French army, whilst in the American army we find reported 575 operations of this nature. (*Recueil de Médecin et de Chirurgie Militaire*, vol. xvii. pp. 390, 391.) Such details are characteristic, and indicate the extent and horror of the massacre.

If we pass on from wounds to diseases, we find a result more satisfactory to humanity. Two distinguishing features of the American War are the considerable comparative increase in the number of victims under the enemy's fire, and a similarly great diminution in the number of persons visited by diseases. This demonstrates not only that the means of destruction have made gigantic progress, but also that superior measures for the restoration and maintenance of health are being extensively adopted. During the first year of the war, with an effective force of 290,936 men, 14,183 died of disease. In the second year, with an effective of 644,508 men, the number of deaths from disease was 42,010. During the whole continuance of the war about 97,000 men, in the Northern armies, were killed under fire, and 184,000 died of disease; in all 281,000 men.

The losses of the South were much greater; but on this subject we do not possess any scientific work. In the following statistics furnished to us, the number of dead is not distinguished from that of the wounded:—

	Enlisted.	Killed or Maimed.
Alabama	120,000	70,000
Arkansas	50,000	30,000
Florida	17,000	10,000
Georgia	131,000	76,000
Louisiana	60,000	34,000
Mississippi	78,000	45,000
Missouri	40,000	24,000
North Carolina	140,000	85,000
South Carolina	65,000	40,000
Maryland	40,000	24,000
Tennessee	60,000	34,000
Texas	93,000	53,000
Virginia	180,000	105,000
Total,	1,074,000	630,000

We have here a total of 630,000 killed or maimed out of 1,074,000 enlisted, or 60 per cent. ! If, now, we compare these losses with the total amount of the white population in the South, we see that they form more than 10 per cent., or 20 per cent. of the male population. It may be said, then, *that the American War swept off nearly all the youth of the Southern States;* and this is no metaphor, but a literally true statement.

If to these 630,000 men, lost to the South, we add the 281,000 who were killed in the Northern armies, we have a total of more than 900 thousand men. But it must not be overlooked that, in the return of 630,000 men, many maimed are included. If we consider that the immense majority of the Southern losses were occasioned by disease and fatigue, by the poor constitution of the army which embraced youths of sixteen and elderly men of sixty, and by the almost total absence of rest for want of reinforcements, we may estimate that four-fifths of these 630,000 men as killed and one fifth as maimed, we shall then obtain, in the two-armies, a total of nearly 800 thousand dead ! [An estimate below the facts in the case.—*American Editor.*]

#### FINANCIAL LOSSES.

The financial losses were still more unprecedented. "The North expended upon this war 14,000 million francs," says M. Vigo Roussillon (*Puissance Militaire des Etats-Unis.*) during the Secession War. He states further that it cost the South nearly as much, and that altogether the civil war entailed upon the United States of America more than 25,000 million francs (£ 1,000,000,000) in actual military expenses, and fully *double* this sum, if account is taken of the loss of productive power, and the value of the property and crops destroyed.

It is our opinion that M. Vigo Roussillon and the public generally form too low an estimate of the actual expenses of this war. To say that the American War cost the Northern States 14,000 million francs (£ 560,000,000) is to mistake the amount of the debt contracted for the actual sum of the costs. We have previously protested against this defective mode of calculation, which takes no account of the taxation, the increase in which was enormous during the years of the

Secession War. The very exceptional nature of this high taxation is indicated by the fact that, on the return of peace, it was found practicable to pay off an extraordinary proportion of the debt. The following are, in round figures, the budgets of the army and navy, from 1860 to 1866 —

1860-61	35 million dollars
1861-62	437 " "
1862-63	662 " "
1863-64	776 " "
1864-65	1,153 " "
1865-66	327 " "

The budget for the army and navy had already required, in 1860-61, a sum much greater than those of previous years, which had never exceeded 25 million dollars. We may, however, take the sum of 35 millions, reached in 1860-61, as the normal amount for the army and navy budgets in time of peace, and may assume that, if the struggle had not broken out, this sum would not have been surpassed in the subsequent annual expenditures. The total amount of the five military budgets from 1861 to 1866 would then have been 175 million dollars. But its actual amount, on the other hand, was 3,355 million dollars, that is, 3,180 million dollars for extraordinary war expenses. Now 3,180 million dollars are about 17,000 million francs (£ 636,000,000). Thus a very simple calculation has furnished us with an estimate of extraordinary war expenses surpassing, by about 2,000 millions, the amount of the American debt.

But to these 17,000 millions must be added the amount of *voluntary* contributions. According to the *New York Herald* and Dr. Evans, these contributions exceeded, at the commencement of 1862, 1,000 million francs. According to M. Elysé Reclus, they had reached 1,144 millions by the 1st of March, 1864. The Sanitary Commission and auxiliary or similar societies spent 120 millions in drugs, maintenance, clothing, and hospital expenses. We thus obtain the amount of 18,264 millions, which is fully conceded, and from which there is nothing to abate.

But we have not yet reached the complete amount. We should add the expenses of states, counties and districts, in armaments and in bounties to volunteers. The bounties were very considerable; they amounted to 2,000 dollars (10,700 francs) per head, certainly the half of which was paid by the states, districts or counties. M. Vigo Roussillon gives us the total of these payments to the army, from July 1, 1865. This sum is only 5,145,000,195 francs, which would only be 1,938 francs per head per each volunteer. It must surely be admitted that the states, districts, or counties furnished a sum at least equivalent. The expenses of the North would amount to 23,500 millions! (940 million pounds sterling!) *As to the expenses of the South, it is impossible to estimate them.* We venture to say that the whole of the circulating, or portable, capital in the rebel States was almost entirely absorbed by the war; and as to representing statistically an amount

which can in no wise be calculated, we shall not have the presumption to attempt it.

But how shall we estimate, even approximately, the *indirect* losses and ruin? To say nothing of the *immense number of estates* in the richest parts of the Union, in Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri, *constantly traversed and ravaged*, for four years by innumerable armies; to say nothing of *three million laborers transformed into soldiers* and so depriving agriculture and other industry of their powerful co-operation; *all the crops destroyed; all the plantations neglected* for want of workers; *all the manufactures closed* for want of capital and security; *all the rich stocks of cotton, for which Europe was so anxious, devoured by flames*—these incalculable losses we pass by because *we cannot compute their value.*

But there is a further loss which does not evade calculation. In consequence of the war, what became of that *superb mercantile navy* which constituted the glory of the United States? To how many millions did the Northern losses from *privateers* amount? The injury caused to Northern commerce by the *Alabama* alone in her short career, is estimated at 80 million francs (£3,200,000). How many fine ships and rich cargoes became the prey of Southern corsairs, which, being unable to bring them into European ports, burnt them in mid-ocean! Then, again, what general confusion ensued in all the *commercial relations* of the United States, and what a high rate of insurance! The Northern States were obliged to sell to England, at a loss, the greater part of their ships, and to denationalize their mercantile navy. For 1858 to 1860, the average number of vessels sold by the Americans to the English was 40, measuring altogether 16,000 tons; in 1861, it was no longer 40, but 126, and of a tonnage of 76,000; in 1862 it was 135; in 1863 it was 320, of 252,579 tonnage. The statistics are wanting for the years 1864 and 1865, which were the most terrible years for the commerce of the Union. *In 1860, two-thirds of the exports of the United States were conveyed in American vessels; in 1863, two-thirds were conveyed in foreign ships;* (Langel, "Les Corsaires Confédérés," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 1864). We have quoted this particular statement because it presents some exact figures. But it is a matter of merely secondary importance amid the immense exhibition of the sufferings, ruin and catastrophe which afflicted the United States during those four years.

#### EUROPEAN LOSSES BY THE AMERICAN WAR.

Americans were by no means the only sufferers who were involved; the manufacturing population of Lancashire, of Alsace and the Lower Seine, were also deeply affected by the war. This fearful Cotton Crisis, with its disasters and reactionary effects that for several years disturbed Europe, is a wound that must be probed, in connection with the influence of the American War. The following explanation of the subject is given by M. Pouyer-Quertier in his report on the proposal to the Legislature for the authorization of a loan of five million francs in aid of the localities affected by the depression of the cotton-industry:—

The cotton-industry is one of the principal employments in the world. Taking Europe only, the imports and labor connected with this manufacture, within the last few years, have been of the value of at least 4,000 million francs per annum (£160,000,000) viz. 2,000 millions for England, 800 millions for France, and 1,200 millions for the remainder of the Continent. Of this amount the raw material (of which four fifths were derived from the United States) represents a value of 1,200 millions; the dyes, grease, oils, machinery, &c. make up 800 millions, whilst the wages paid (in Europe) for labor at this branch of industry are about 2,000 millions of francs.

From these summary statistics it may be easily comprehended how much trouble must have been occasioned in the cotton-manufacturing countries by the scarcity of the indispensable material. England, which is unquestionably the greatest consumer of raw cotton, was the first to diminish the regular course of its manufacture. From the month of August, 1861, this industry began to fall off in Lancashire. The American War having broken out in the spring of 1861, and the blockade of the Southern ports having been almost immediately made effectual, the price of cotton rose rapidly. In consequence of this sudden rise in the raw material, the hours of labor were further shortened in the manufactories; and from the month of July, 1862, nearly all the factories in Great Britain were working on short time. From that date to the 31st of December, 1862, the pressure continued to increase, and hence extreme distress spread throughout the cotton districts.

In France the supply of the raw material on hand was comparatively much greater. Hence a serious diminution of labor did not commence in Normandy until about August or September, 1862, and in the Eastern manufacturing district of France not until December.

In 1860 Europe had attained a weekly consumption of 90,000 bales of cotton; and it was estimated that new sources of production would raise the amount to at least 100,000 bales per week in 1861, the period when the American War broke out. The actual stock on hand for all Europe was then only 360,000 bales of American cotton. For two years the value of American cotton had been from 70 to 80 francs per 50 kilogrammes. At the beginning of September, 1862, it had reached 350 and even 360 francs. In November it sunk to 275, but again rose in December to 300 francs. (*Moniteur*, January 27, 1863.)

We have quoted the above from the words of an eminent manufacturer; they are, however, open to criticism, and doubtless contain some exaggerated statements on certain points, especially as to the reduction of wages in the cotton-working districts of France and of Europe generally. But the distress occasioned in the Old World by the American War is not the less immeasurable, as the following statistics will show:—

The imports of cotton into England for the year 1863 cost three millions of pounds sterling more than those of 1861, although not amounting, even as to quantity alone, to one-half the ordinary value of the latter.—(*Journal des Economistes*, January, 1864, p. 118.) There were, it is true, additional supplies of cotton from India and Egypt, but of a very inferior quality to that produced in America. This very necessity of having recourse to Egypt and India created much embarrassment in European countries. "The heavy purchases of cotton from countries which hitherto had exported it only in small quantities, and which had

consequently not acquired the habit of a corresponding consumption of European products, occasioned in 1863 large exportations of specie, from which the Continent has been suffering, especially during the last three months. The Bank of England, which began the year with a rate of interest of 3 per cent., reached 8 per cent. in December.—(*Journal des Economistes*, p. 119, January, 1864.)

Thus it is evident that a great war can import a multitude of disturbances into our industrial and financial progress. The year 1863 was a specially terrible time to pass through. "This winter," wrote the *Journal des Economistes*, in January, 1864, "will, happily, not be so difficult to undergo as that of 1863. Calculations, which appear to be correct, have shown that the average value of the French cotton manufactures is 530 million francs (£21,200,000), of which a fifth part, or 106 millions, represents wages, and that there will only be half the amount of work done this year, that is to say, that our operatives will lose about 53 million francs. The importation of cotton has increased in the past year about 50 per cent., and it will follow that the loss of wages will be diminished one-third. But the loss will be actually much less, because a considerable number of operatives have taken themselves to the manufactures of woollen and linen and hemp, which have profited by the rise in cotton."

The calculations of M. Paul Boiteau appear to be more correct. But a loss of 53 millions in wages, at an average rate of 3 francs per day, or 1,000 francs per annum, implies 53,000 operatives without the means of existence. Even if this loss and this number be reduced one-half, and if we consider that the French manufactories furnish only about the fifth part of all the cotton fabrics of Europe, it will follow that at least 100,000 of the working population of Europe were, in consequence of the American War, left almost continually, for nearly three years, without employment, and that three or four times as many had to suffer a considerable diminution of wages. How many deaths must have been occasioned by this terrible "holiday!" But such is war. Its nature is so homicidal that it slays thousands of victims even at thousands of leagues distance from the battle-fields!

But, again, if America overthrew our industry by ceasing to furnish us with the raw material, she gave us further trouble by no longer buying our manufactured produce. "It is evident that a customer so exhausted can only be a poor customer to us, and that, when the war is over, the effects of the past cannot immediately disappear. Hence it appears from the Customs Returns that French exports to foreign parts, especially as regards silk and woollen goods, have undergone an important and significant diminution." (*Journal des Economistes*, vol. xlvii. p. 306.) The operatives of Saint Etienne were scarcely in a better condition than those of Mulhouse and Rouen on the conclusion of that war.

It would be in vain to adduce a multitude of additional statistics; they would not enable us to estimate all the calamities of the war. And yet, says M. Horn, "4,000

million francs (£160,000,000) would have sufficed to abolish slavery by purchasing every slave at the general average rate of 1,000 francs (£40) each, taking young and old, men and women, the infants and the aged, uniformly." What economy this would have been! But, as was remarked by M. Michael Chevalier, to have exercised this wise and self-denying foresight, America should have possessed, in the crisis of 1861, men as great as those who directed the crisis of the last century,—a Franklin in the North and a Washington in the South. Yet even this should not have been necessary. For a truly-informed and virtuous people knows how to act, irrespectively of its great men, and will adopt useful and right measures from the prompting of its own intelligence and virtue.

**INTERNATIONAL LAW.**—This subject, one of the most important that can be well conceived, ought to be, and rightly understood and applied must be, an auxiliary, if not pioneer, in the cause of peace. Its bearings in this respect are coming more and more to be viewed in this light by leading minds.

With this view the late Dr. Whewell, of Cambridge University, England, bequeathed to that Alma Mater of Milton and Bacon \$ 350,000 for "the endowment of a Professorship and Scholarships in the University." His leading motive may be gathered from this provision—"The Professor is enjoined by the will to make it his aim in his lectures and all parts of his treatment of the subject of International Law, to lay down such rules and to suggest such measures as may tend to diminish the evils of war, and finally to extinguish war between nations." We hope like professorships, actuated by a similar spirit, and guided by the same principles, may yet be established in all our higher seminaries of learning.

#### OUR WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE.

*A night ride from Tomah to La Crosse, and a boat ride from the latter place to St. Paul, Minn.*

Of all methods of travelling yet invented, commend me to a first-class steam-boat, and especially to a steam-boat on the Mississippi River. I have journeyed on them many times, and never yet without regretting that the journey should end so soon. Free from the noise and dust of railroad travelling, with opportunities to form agreeable acquaintance on board, and to eat and read and sleep at leisure, the person must be hard indeed to please who cannot enjoy himself on one of these floating palaces.

There is one drawback, however, to the pleasure of travelling on the river between Dubuque and St. Paul. Instead of being able to gaze on beautiful farms extending quite down to the river's bank, you are shut in by high hills or bluffs for almost the whole distance. Only here and there at long intervals is there space sufficient between the river and the bluffs for town sites, and many of the towns seem crowded into nooks which leave but little room for future expansion. These bluffs extend back for several miles; and it is not until one gets beyond them, that he is permitted to gaze on a landscape which beauty's self might envy. Above the falls of St. Anthony the river seems lifted out of its bed, and is nearly on a level with the surrounding country, so that a fine view of both may be had at the same time.

Boats can ascend the Mississippi in high water to the Rapids just below St. Anthony and Minneapolis; but they

usually stop at St. Paul, and a rail-road on each side of the river affords ready access to the former places.

**THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.**—Who that has arrived at middle age does not recollect gazing on the map in his schoolboy days at their location in the then far off North West? But how few of them ever expected to behold the reality, or that within a few years the immense water-power at this place would be utilized, and that cities whose inhabitants are counted by thousands would spring up in the vicinity, on both sides of the river? The fact has been realized almost before it was dreamed of; and now St. Anthony and Minneapolis, connected by a Suspension Bridge, and ultimately to be one city, have a busy population of some twelve or fifteen thousand.

But the Falls of St. Anthony are soon to be no more. The water at this place has been playing fantastic freaks, and in simple self-defence, the people of the two cities have resolved that it shall conduct itself in a more orderly manner hereafter, and cease to plunge headlong, and tearing over the rocks. The facts are these: the river, at this place, flows over a stratum of limestone, a few feet thick. Underneath this limestone is a bed of sandstone, so soft that it can almost be spaded. The water, falling over the limestone, produces a backward or counter current which has washed away the sandstone, and left nothing but their own cohesion to support the rocks above. Hence they have from time to time broken off and fallen into the river below. Hence, also, the Falls have gradually receded up stream, and the water, instead of flowing over in a beautiful curve, dashes and foams among the rocks, presenting neither the beauty of Minnehaha, nor the grandeur of Niagara.

To prevent still farther recession, and the removal of the water-power from the large amount of machinery which it now propels, an apron of timber, some 200 or 300 feet long, is being constructed, the upper end rising to a level with the bed of the river, where it commences its fall, and the lower end resting on the bottom below, thus conducting the water to the lower level on an inclined plane, and preventing the counter current which has done such damage before. When it is remembered that although the volume of water pouring over the rocks here is great, its descent is only a few feet, the practicability of this expedient will be most apparent. The cost of this, however, is so great, and its importance to the prosperity and growth of St. Anthony and Minneapolis so obvious, that these cities in their corporate capacity unite with the owners of the water-power and the mills in defraying the expense.

The manufacture of pine lumber from logs floated down the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, is the leading business at the Falls, and it is surprising to see how rapidly a gang of saws will drive its way through one of these logs, and transform it by a single passage into a pile of boards. But in addition to Saw Mills, there are Flouring Mills, Paper Mills, Planing Mills, an Axe factory, a Woollen factory, and Machine Shops of various kinds.

Extensive as is the water-power at the Falls, a novel expedient has been resorted to to increase it. Below them tunnels of six or eight feet in diameter have been commenced in the soft sandstone, and run under the limestone for some distance above. Over these tunnels at frequent intervals on the shore and on the island upright shafts are sunk, in which water-wheels will be placed, which are to propel the machinery above them. The water from above the dam will then be admitted into these shafts, and after falling on the wheels, find its way to the river below through the tunnels referred to. The design seems to be that the Mississippi shall not pass from its upper to its lower bed without paying a good round toll for the privi-